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245 *tejocote* as a domesticated type. It is harvested and exported for making jellies and
[252] preserves. A few are used locally.
[439] Some quince trees are found in Cherán. They are little used, but some preserves are made.

BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

241 Most beliefs and customs center about maize. Most important are the beliefs about red ears, čóču. A red ear is described as the mother, chief, and ače (ceremonial leader) of all maize. In the storage lofts, red ears are mixed in with the yellow and white to act as guardian of the rest. They are never eaten until all the white and the yellow corn are gone. Care is taken to plant seed from one or more red ears in each field; otherwise it is believed that there will be no harvest.

● [755] Red ears and black ears are both said to be used in curing, but no details could be secured.

Twin ears, *cuates* (šaninkuáte), are said to come because God wishes to send a little more. Sometimes large ears have four or five points; they are said to be the hand of the planter.

[182] The family harvesting the first green corn in the town places two or three ears on the altar of San Francisco. Each family gives one or two *cargas* of maize on the cob to the priest.

789 If the rains do not come at the proper time near the end of May, the image of San Ramos
[778] is taken to the peak of San Marcos. The image is placed on a white sheet, held by a man at each corner, and tossed in the sheet. If San Ramos can be made to cry, it begins to rain immediately. During the rite a *rezador* recites a rosary, copal is burned, and *cohetes* are fired.

241 Every year, beginning in January, the grass is burned, causing great damage to the forests and destroying the last remnants of pasture. The burning is said to prevent heavy frosts, while the smoke hastens the coming of the
[632] rains. Town officials and officers of the Forest Service succeeded in extinguishing most of the fires in 1940.

It is said there are no beliefs regarding wheat. Nevertheless, wheat must be carried in a wooden bowl while sowing or it will be attacked by rust, "*tecolote.*" Rust is a sign the planter used his hat, blanket, or some other improper article at planting. Girls plait elab-

796 vow at the first opportunity. Of course, as all thrifty Tarascans would, he also made the event a business occasion, taking advantage of [443] the big market at San Juan on the day of the fiesta by carrying several burro loads of apples [439] from Pichátaro. The San Juan fiesta is the occasion of the major interchange of goods between the temperate region and the Balsas Basin.

788 Pilgrims to the San Juan fiesta come from a 796 distance of as much as 22 days' journey, and obviously many of them are not Tarascans. Often individuals will take vows to go part way [785] on their knees, wear a crown of thorns, carry a sack of cactus on their shoulders, or do other types of penance on the way. It is believed that [755] invalids may be cured if they dance before the image in the church. Those who cannot dance may be cured by rubbing them with pieces of cotton passed over the "ulcers" on the Christ image. Many also dance from the edge of the town to the church when they first arrive. It is believed that anyone who laughs at the dancers will become paralyzed and must himself dance in order to be cured. Others say everyone must dance on entering the town or he will never be able to dance again.

796 The fiesta at nearby Paracho on October 20, that of Santa Ursala, offered some interesting points. Each side of the path through the atrium to the church was lined with posts covered with moss, paper flowers, and palm leaves. On two strings between the posts were hung paper flowers and paper candle lanterns in bright colors. The inside of the church was decorated with ropes of pine needles and candle lanterns also.

In the same town, for the fiesta of the patron saint, celebrated August 11, somewhat similar decorations were used. The front of the church was decorated with flowers. In the decorations there was much use of ropes of flowers from which various fruits and vegetables were suspended. The images of saints were placed in cloth-covered booths at the four corners of the atrium. On the following day, Monday, a group of little girls danced in the streets, dancing once in the office of the mayor about 11 o'clock. About noon a Mass was held, followed by a procession moving counterclockwise about the atrium and stopping before each

796 honey gatherers determine the list of candidates for the *mayordomía* at a meeting before Corpus. For the upper two *barrios*, only one principal was mentioned. In this case the principal was interviewed and asserted that all candidates for the *mayordomía* applied to him. The real *carguero* in the lower *barrios* in 1940 was the 4-year-old son of the household, according to his father. The *mayordomía* was sought because the boy was not growing normally.

● [755]

On some occasions the principals of the lower *barrios* have some expenses. For example, one year the box in which the saint's image is taken to the mountains was partly burned through an accident. The principals ordered a new box at their expense.

MAYORDOMÍA OF THE THREE KINGS

The *mayordomía* of the Three Kings, Los Treyes Reyes, is celebrated on January 6, the new *carguero* taking the images the following day. The *mayordomía* is relatively new, and the present images were secured in 1940. The previous images were small and provisional. The *carguero* in 1940 had held the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child the previous year. In both cases the *mayordomía* was sought to aid the health of a sickly child. In addition, the parents had vowed the child to perform in the dance of the *viejos* every year.

[755]

It is obvious that the *carguero* in 1940 was well-to-do to be able to take two *mayordomías* on 2 successive years. Moreover, he introduced an innovation by taking over all the expenses of the dancers who perform in connection with the Day of the Kings. Previously the dance group had been entirely independent of the *mayordomía*, raising their own money for expenses and music.

796 435 The expenses of the *carguero* in 1940 were secured in some detail. They are as follows:

Musicians	$ 70.00
1 pig butchered (estimate)	25.00
1 ox butchered (estimate)	60.00
22 *fanegas* of maize at 3.75 to 4.00	80.00
40 sugar canes and 40 oranges for dancers	2.00
Bread for all (about 200 guests) at end of dance; three breakfasts for dancers	10.00

754 outside the house and speak in this fashion. They do not have to be close by, however, for a large cherry tree south of town is said to be a favorite roosting place for owl-witches engaged in their occupations.

In addition to persons who come to believe they are bewitched, any sick person who does not recover after treatment is thought to be bewitched. The only remedy in cases of bewitchment is to seek the aid of a good witch. In some cases at least, the good witches are persons taught as other witches are but who refuse to use their knowledge to injure people. Obviously there is room for suspicion of such people. Agustín R. knows a woman who is a good witch (but he refused to introduce us to her or tell her name). The woman is reported to have been taught by her mother who was a bad witch. On her deathbed the mother made the daughter promise never to use her power to injure people. The witch is now teaching her own daughter.

754 Little is known about curing techniques. In
755 the account secured, the good witch goes into an empty house, strikes the walls with a stick, and calls the bad witch. The latter can hear even though as far away as Paracho. The bad witch will come and the two fight. To those outside it sounds like thunder, and the walls shake so it seems they must fall down. But if one has the courage to look inside, everything is calm and peaceful. After a time the friendly witch comes out. If she says she lost the fight, then there is no hope for the patient.

754 In all probability an important reason for the
[167] departure of the Rangel family from Cherán for their long stay in the United States was because of bewitchment. Agustín's mother was bewitched before the family left. She had no specific ailments but felt bad all over and could not get up. Someone told her husband that a certain witch was working on her. Agustín's father then hid in the *barranca* until a woman came with a doll, which he recognized as his wife. He confronted her, but she did not speak. In some way, though, she agreed to give up the witchcraft. Agustín's father threatened to kill the woman if she tried bewitchment again. He took the doll and burned it. If he had merely thrown it away, the

754 breast (in an arrangement the informant did not wish to explain). Now place the doll in a cooking pot with oil for lamps. In front of the figure put a tallow candle and burn it but not down to the point the flame touches the oil.

754 832 In addition to the above methods of bewitchment, powders brought from the region of the ocean are extensively used for love potions. The powders are brought by muleteers from the hot country and are said to be made by grinding a tree which grows there. A pinch of these is taken between thumb and forefinger and rubbed on the clothing, face, or hair of the desired person without his knowledge.

754 751 Methods of prevention and cure against witchcraft were also provided by the same informant. The following method will immunize a person against witchcraft and also cure certain types of sorcery:

[278] Materials needed are oil from a certain poisonous snake, grease from a certain species of scorpion, oil of San Ignacio, oil of Vicente, oil of San Aparicio, a little dry marihuana, and small balls of two herbs sold by the herb vendors at Uruapan. The marihuana and the balls are ground and then carefully mixed with the oils and greases. The witch then anoints the patient's body with the mixture.

754 755 A person ill of sores (*granos*) may be cured by catching certain poisonous snakes, killing them, taking out the oil, and placing the flesh to dry. The flesh, when dry, is reduced to a powder and mixed with the oil. The genital organs of the patient are then anointed with the mixture until he has recovered.

Marihuana and toloache (*Datura*, sp.?) made into a powder and dissolved in *aguardiente* serves to cure witchcraft, taking a little every morning. Marihuana also aids one to "dream beautifully."

To clean someone who is dying of witchcraft, take fresh toloache, jediondilla (unidentified), an egg, and *jara* (cistus or rockrose). Mixing all this together, clean the patient's body, repeating the cure as many times as is necessary and not permitting him to go outside in the air. It is also possible to cure without breaking the egg, but passing it entire over the whole body. (Probably there is more to the latter method than was told.)

754 A few general points appear from the data on witchcraft. It is interesting to note that in most of the important "recipes" the informant

753 757 tions. There is a high fever, a cough, and sometimes the patient spits blood. The patient is rubbed with oil of seven different flowers, bought in the drug store, and given an infusion of sunflowers, spines from the tejecote tree, prickly pear, chayote, and dry white and red maize leaves. The infusion is taken several times a day in place of water. The disease may be caused if the person arrives somewhere very agitated and drinks cold water or something cold, *fresca*. One informant thought eating lice was good for heart trouble.

752 753 Piles, *almorranas*, are cured with a remedy made with copper sulfate and lard washed with vinegar, unguent of serato, and drying salve (*pomada secante*). One of the assistants was told confidentially, and as a thing not to be passed on, that cauterization with a hot iron was also employed.

753 757 Erysipelas, čarápiti, appears with a high fever, which increases. There is angry red swelling and much pain. The cause given is allowing the clothing to dry on the body if one becomes soaked; the disease is also an accompaniment of wounds. The patient is given a cooked infusion of *yerba de cancer* and asked to eat only milk, sago, and orange-leaf tea.

753 755 Salmoneda is a disease of small children; they fall down in fits. The cause is fright, *espanto*, and the disease is cured by burning copal and having the child inhale the smoke.

753 757 Smallpox, kuarósikua, occurs every March. There are 3 days of fever, 3 days of cough and fever accompanied by breaking out of the pustules, 3 days of feeding to regain strength. After the sixth day the pustules begin to dry up. Possibility of contagion from using the same cup, spoon, etc., is recognized. The stage accompanied by the cough is treated with burro's milk (application not clear) and a common herb occurring on the streets, ¢ákua peréně. The latter is boiled and drunk instead of water.

Sarampión, measles, usually occurs in March also and is regarded as much more dangerous than smallpox (although this may be true, it seems more likely that the identification of diseases is faulty). The patients get a red rash, fever, and colds. An infusion of grapefruit (?) is used to bring out the rash; if the rash does not come out the patient may not

753 swellings occur in the breast, ribs, or back.
757 A curer specializing in this ailment discovers the seat of the pain by feeling with her fingers. She then anoints the area with unguents purchased in the stores. If the first ones do not work, she then tries others.

[826] The blood of animals is generally regarded as bad and dangerous. The black blood from a butchered animal will cause ulcers if it falls on the skin. The cure is to cauterize the ulcers with a hot iron. The danger from animal blood is said to be the reason many people will not use meat until several days after butchering.

757 There are a number of treatments of illness
278 which are quite generalized, that is, they may be used on a variety of occasions. For example, *amargo*, is taken in the morning before eating to cure rheumatism, *bilis*, and "fright." *Amargo* is *aguardiente* in which cinnamon bark, sugar, lemon juice, and lemon rind have been steeped for 2 or 3 days. Roses of castile, made into infusions, may be used for any sort of pain or sickness. Persons on the verge of death may sometimes be brought back by putting an onion under their nose or blowing tobacco smoke in their face. A mild diet is frequently used regardless of the illness. Milk and oatmeal gruel are the two most preferred items. Nurite, a common herb used in cooking, is also widely used for stomach disorders and colics. *Romero, quién sabe,* and *yerba buena* are also widely used herbs. Additional herbal remedies have been collected, but the plants have not yet been identified.

753 Of considerable interest is a class of diseases
754 and ailments which seem to be of supernatural causation. Witchcraft, which has already been discussed (p. 156), is an important cause of illness and death. Others are č'érpiri or jándaku íri ("fright," *espanto*), tariáta pákata ("wind," *aire* or *viento*), and éskukata (evil eye or *mal de ojo*).

753 Some informants believed that "fright" was
755 something attacking only drunkards and persons who went about at night, and considered it merely seeing ghosts or similar imaginary supernatural things. A curer, however, described to Rendón an elaborate treatment for the disease. The curer puts a bit of cotton over the end of the index finger of her right hand. Over this she puts a green tomato, preferably

753 slightly broiled, on which is sprinkled a little
755 salt. The patient's mouth is opened and the tomato is pressed upward against the soft palate while with the left hand the curer pushes down on the crown of the patient's head. After doing this for some minutes, the tomato is removed from the finger, opened, and rubbed on the crown of the patient's head, on the wrists, and on the joints of the arms. Following this, the patient's head is massaged with gentle pressure, with special attention to the face, the cheek bones, forehead, temples, and occiput. This is called "raising the crown of the head." The treatment is given to both adults and children.

Few data were secured on "wind" or "air." People with the sickness are sometimes said to have been "taken by the wind." In some cases "air" attacks the stomach; some data on treatment have been given above.

754 The "evil eye" is a very dangerous matter because it attacks mainly small children who
753 are often unable to resist the sickness. Moreover, the power of the evil eye may be possessed by anyone without the knowledge of the possessor. Most commonly persons with the power of the evil eye will afflict individuals of whom they are especially fond. Children who are very pretty or clean and with neatly combed hair are particularly subject to the evil eye. When two persons desire very much to see each other and cannot do so, one is apt to afflict the other with the evil eye; for example, lovers who wish very much to see each other. The evil eye is always believed to be caused unconsciously and without malice.

Symptoms of the evil eye among children are weakness, pale or yellowish complexion, and a tendency to cry a great deal. Adults feel disconsolate; are unable to sleep or, when they do sleep, dream constantly of the person causing the disease, dream someone is calling or talking; or while awake, they think constantly of the person causing the sickness, with feelings of sorrow and pain. In either case, if a cure is not effected, the person dies with vomiting and fever.

755 In order to cure infants of the evil eye, mothers take their children to a street intersection. All passersby are asked to "clean" the child with their clothing. As everyone knows

755 what is involved, they accede without asking questions. They take one of the garments they have on, such as the end of a *rebozo* or a blanket, and pass it over the infant's body, pretending to rub the child, although actually they often do not touch it. According to Rendón's information, as they "clean" the child each person says "číta ká'ka" (meaning not learned), repeating the phrase three or more times. The person cleaning the child then raises its shirt and either spits on the child over the heart, or pretends to do so. All persons, regardless of age, are asked to "clean" the child, for the evil eye may be caused by a child as well as an adult. This statement would seem to imply that the performance is conducted with the hope that the person causing the attack will be one of those to "clean" the victim; this is borne out by other information that if the person causing the evil eye is known, anyone can effect a cure by "cleaning" the victim with a piece of worn, soiled clothing lent by the causer.

Another method of curing the evil eye is to "clean" the patient with certain grasses or animals. The animals used are pigeons, black cats, and dogs. The entire body of the patient is rubbed with the animal, which is then released. By using only the pigeon or both the cat and dog, a child may be cured, but adults require rubbing with all three. If the evil eye is very strong, the pigeons may die, but the other two animals apparently are uninjured.

In order to prevent the evil eye, "deer eyes" [751] are tied to the wrist or about the neck, or a little sack filled with salt, lime, and black chile is hung about the neck. Adults wear a scapular with a stamp of some saint inside as a preventive.

McCorkle made several efforts to be "cured" in order to secure additional data, but in only one instance was he taken seriously. Even this case is open to suspicion that the curer decided there was a possible gold mine in the situation and tried to exploit it to the limit. The curer in this instance also has the reputation of being a witch and able to turn herself into an owl at night. She refused to talk until her husband arrived, and he actually did most of the talking. They were very suspicious, asking if there were not doctors in Uruapan or

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755 in California. This was the usual reaction of other curers who, although less suspicious and more good-natured, simply refused to go further, advising McCorkle to go to a Mexican doctor.

When McCorkle insisted doctors had done him no good and that he had a persistent pain in the stomach, the curer suggested it was indigestion and would go away, asking Agustín privately if McCorkle was not making fun of them. Agustín replied that the curer knew how to tell fortunes so why did she not discover for herself whether McCorkle was sincere. The customary fee of 25 centavos was now offered and the curer and her husband at this point evidently decided that McCorkle could be exploited.

The symptoms recounted to the curer were a sudden pain in the stomach, sometimes after meals, sometimes before breakfast or at other odd times, and poor sleep. The curer asked how long the patient had been in Mexico and where he had slept the first night in Mexico. The curer now unwrapped a deck of cards from a dirty cloth. She shuffled the cards, picked out one, and declared the disease was *maloficina*, an affliction not reported by any other source. Someone had given the patient something to drink so he would have a stomach ache all the time.

The remedy suggested was to take a purge to be bought at the drug store. When asked to recommend a purge, the curer and her husband decided they could capitalize on the situation and said they could get a very superior purge at an old drug store in Purépero for $5.00. When this price was demurred at, the curer finally decided that if the patient was not difficult to purge, $2.50 would secure enough of the purge. The first day after taking the purge, the patient was to stay in bed, as he would sweat; the second day he could get out of bed but should not do heavy work and should eat only toasted white bread and milk. The third day the patient should stay home and on the fourth day come back to the curer and be massaged. During this time the patient could smoke but not drink liquor. A case was cited of a man who violated this prohibition and died shortly afterward.

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755 On McCorkle's return to get the purge, an effort was made to raise the price. When this had been successfully countered, McCorkle asked if the curer could find out who caused the pains. This was said to be difficult because McCorkle had stopped in a hotel instead of with friends on his first night in Mexico. Finally, after consultation of the cards, it was stated that a tall woman with blue eyes had caused the illness "just for fun." This was a person whom McCorkle had "liked very much" in the hotel. At this point they asked Agustín in an aside if McCorkle was "church married" to his wife.

The purge proved to be a packet of herbs and a bottle of oil. New directions were now given for the treatment. Half the tea was to be boiled, sugar added, and the mixture allowed to become lukewarm. The oil, about an ounce and a half, was all to be taken, then the tea. The patient would purge about five times. He should not eat meat, chile, or beans, but could eat cheese, milk, and toasted white bread. The medicine should be taken in the morning and the patient should stay in bed 3 days and not drink water. The patient should not bathe for 6 days. The instructions were somewhat confused because the curer and her husband sometimes simultaneously produced variant instructions, for example, one stating that the patient should return in 4 days, while the other said 6.

A few notes were secured by Rendón in other towns. In San Juan Parangaricutiro the fat of animals mixed with ground river crawfish is rubbed on the body to cause a sweat in cases of pneumonia. Headaches are treated with "patches" covered with melted copal, kurikʏunda, placed on the temples.

In nearby Parícutin the leaves of the *floripondio* (*Datura* sp.?) are placed on the body to cure pains.

In Capacuaro attacks of "air" may be either hot or cold. If cold, the urine of the patient is mixed with *aguardiente* and rubbed on the joints. When the "air" is hot, the joints are rubbed with ashes. Pains are cured by rubbing the joints with edible oil. Another treatment used in a variety of illnesses is to "take out," *sacudir*. The patient's arms are placed behind his neck and two persons pull on them "until the veins thunder." This is done when the person feels pain over the entire body. The

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755 *zorilla* (a wild animal, perhaps a small fox) is used in ways not specified to cure skin diseases with small ulcers or pimples, illnesses of the blood, and pneumonia. Buzzards are also used in some cures, while spiders and snakes are employed in curing *mal oficio* or witchcraft. Green tomatoes are used as food in illness; they are also rubbed over the chest when there is pain, to "freshen it."

164 The majority of Capacuaro residents have goiter. This is said often to result from drinking from a spring of bad water. The spring is said to be bad because many humming birds drink there. Evidently only acute goiter is believed to be a disease, as the majority of people in Capacuaro consider a certain amount of swelling of the neck to be natural, so common is the affliction. If the goiter becomes too large, a knife is passed over it as though the goiter were being cut out. This is believed to stop its growth. A string about the neck is also thought to stop the goiter from growing (the same belief exists in Cherán) or, when the moon is in the first phase, someone pretends to take bites out of the swelling.

754 The power of the evil eye belongs only to certain persons in Capacuaro. The face of the person afflicted is suddenly twisted, he feels burning in the face and body and "wishes to take out his heart." The first step in the cure is to cause the patient to sweat freely. The body is "cleaned" with tules; the curer (apparently a man) also rubs the patient with his (the curer's) trousers.

755 The following remedies are reported by Rendón from Chilchota in La Cañada:

For pains, stitches, or palpitations of the heart:

1. Place on the chest a piece of red Chinese paper cut in a square and previously dipped in tepid alcohol. Over this sprinkle lemon juice and then cover the patient warmly.
2. Give tea of cooked magnolia petals with cinnamon.
3. Give tea from cooked branches of "asparagus" (of a type not eaten).
4. Give hot fresh deer blood as it comes from the animal or dried deer blood dissolved in hot water.

For "attacks," give the patient water which has been heated and into which the nostrils of

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755 a recently killed coyote have been placed just before the water reaches the boiling point.

Scorpion stings are treated by giving the
752 patient immediately a drink made by boiling
755 *casaguate* with salt. Another treatment is to give powder produced by rubbing two stones together. The powder is dissolved in water. The wound is also rubbed with lemon juice.

Rabies is treated by giving water in which
[824] has been macerated a ball of the male ash tree (male and female trees are distinguished).

Sickly children are treated by bathing them
755 with turtle blood. After a sufficient number of fresh water turtles are collected, they are made to put out the head by putting coals on the shell. The neck is then severed with a single blow of a machete, and the turtle is suspended over the head of the child (who is standing naked) so the blood streams down from head to foot.

DEATH

Death is regarded as a normal event in
761 Cherán and mourning is restrained and, in the main, private. Somewhat more grief is shown when the deceased is a child or a person still vigorous. An old person, who has begun to
[888] lose some of his vigor, is often spoken of as only half alive. Similarly, very small children are often regarded as not fully alive. For persons already regarded as not fully members of the community of the living, no great emotional response to death may be expected.

Ideas about death and afterlife are essentially
775 Catholic. Small children who die are believed to go directly to heaven, while adults must pass some time in purgatory. The dead are not particularly feared, nor is it believed that they ordinarily return. However, if a person dreams frequently of a dead relative it is believed that the deceased individual has returned for a member of his family and that one of the household will certainly die. There is no remedy for such a situation.

Because of the different beliefs regarding the
764 afterlife of children and adults, there are some differences in funerals for the two age groups.

In the case of a child, the godfather of baptism provides the burial dress, which is placed on the body by the godmother or the mother, or by the sisters of the mother. The body is not

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796 On Palm Sunday palms brought from the hot country are taken to the church to be blessed. Formerly a more elaborate observance was held. An image representing Christ was mounted on the image of a burro called San Ramos. The images were carried on a stretcher to the spring supplying water and were put in a little shrine made of flowers. To this spot came youths who had left 2 weeks earlier to secure palms. The youths came down to the spring from a place called La Mesa, wearing carnations and little gourds about their necks and cracking their whips. The girls brought music for dancing and also provided čurípo and kurúndas. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon all went with the palms to the church.

On Holy Thursday there formerly was a market at which the principal goods sold were clothing and fruit from the hot country. People purchased the latter to make offerings to the church for the decoration of the altar.

● [755] Holy Saturday the girls carried small, highly decorated jars of water to be blessed. These were used later to cure the sick and to protect from "fright" (*espanto*). When the church [789] bells ring, children and fruit trees are shaken so that they will grow more rapidly. Images of Judas are burned on the street corners at this moment also. They are provided by anyone who feels like doing so.

In April the *regidor* notifies the youths to clean the spring. The boys provide music and the girls bring them čurípo and kurúndas.

The day of the Assumption, most people go to the fiesta at the town of Huáncito. On their return, the wild honey collectors go through the streets announcing the fiesta of Corpus. They play the *chirimía* and make a special cry called pitakuri.

Two days before the fiesta of Corpus, bread is made in all the houses. The night before Corpus, each *barrio* hires musicians to play. On the day of Corpus the girls bathe at the spring. On their return they dress for church. In the afternoon, boys and girls gather and present each other with fruit and trinkets.

The following day there is a large fiesta in the plaza. The ox drivers bring out their oxen with the yokes decorated with silk kerchiefs, ribbons, and flowers. The drivers also decorate their hats with flowers and their goads with